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The psychology of battle cries is explained by Caesar, B. C. 3.92.5:

neque frustra antiquitus institutum est ut signa undique concinerent clamoremque universi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostis terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.

See also the discussion in Gellius 1.11, especially 9.

Although one feels a certain amount of reservation in comparing any other nation with the Germans, it may not be improper to note certain points of resemblance. The Germans have not been greater inventors than were the Romans, but they have assimilated, developed, and organized the results of the ingenuity of other peoples, as did the Romans before them. The aeroplane, the machine gun, the submarine, trench warfare, the barrage, all of which have been effectively employed by the Germans, are not due to German originality; neither are the telegraph, the telephone and wireless telegraphy, which are absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of war to-day.

One can not name any weapon, not even the *gladius* or the *pilum*, which is due solely to Roman inventiveness. The bed-rock of Rome's military equipment and organization is Etruscan³⁰. Upon this are laid other strata, Sabine, Samnite, Gallic, Iberian, Carthaginian, Greek³¹. The war-galley was not a product of the Roman mind any more than the armor-clad boat is of the German.

The Romans were, then, just as alert as the Germans in adapting and improving. 'Whatever seemed suitable anywhere among friends or foes, with the utmost zeal they imitated at home' (Sallust, Cat. 61). A Greek, Polybius (6.25.11), pays them a similar tribute: 'Whatever they saw, they lost no time in imitating; for, if any nation is adept at transferring customs and imitating what is better, it is the Romans'. To the credit of the Romans, they imitated a foreign Kultur likewise³².

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EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY.

ON VERGIL, AENEID 1. 466-493

It is well known that the scenes from the siege of Troy which Aeneas sees depicted in Juno's temple at Carthage form a well-ordered panorama. It has also been said repeatedly that a certain parallelism is unmistakable in the scenes selected by the poet. But I cannot find anywhere a detailed discussion of these pictures. And yet they deserve such treatment.

The first question which arises is: How many scenes did Vergil mean to place before his readers? It is commonly assumed that there were eight: (1) the flight of the Greeks (467); (2) the flight of the Trojans (468); (3) the horses of Rhesus (469-473); (4) Troilus dragged by Achilles (474-478); (5) the suppliant Trojan women (479-482); (6) the ransoming of Hector's body (483-487); (7) Aeneas and Memnon fighting the Greeks (488-489); (8) Penthesilea and her Ama-

zons (490-493). For reasons which will become apparent later, I believe we ought to assume *nine* scenes: 1-6 as above; (7) Aeneas and the Greek chiefs (488); (8) Memnon and his Ethiopians (489); (9) Penthesilea (490-493).

The next question is: How were the pictures arranged on the wall of the temple? There are two passages which seem to give a hint for the answer. In 456 we read *videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas*; in 467-468 we read *hac fugerent Graii . . . hac Phryges*. The latter passage appears to contradict the former, for *ex ordine* would seem to mean 'one after the other', 'in a line', while the second passage would seem to indicate that the two contrasted scenes formed the two end-scenes of the frieze. That the latter view is the correct one will, I trust, become evident from the subjoined diagram.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
fugiant Graii	Troilus curru rapitur	Troades supplices	Memnon et Boae acies	AENEAS ET ACHIVO- RUM PRINCI- PES	Penthe- silea et Amazoni- des	Hectoris redemp- tio	Rhesi equi ad castra vertuntur	fugiant Phryges

The reasons for this proposed arrangement are as follows:

In the pictorial relief sculptures of Hellenistic times we may get a few hints with reference to the painting of the times in such matters at least as the arrangement and balance of figures, the subjects treated and the general progress of artistic skill.

So Fowler and Wheeler, Greek Archaeology, 528. Nor must we underrate the importance of mosaics, such as that of the Issos-battle, and the mosaics

of the sarcophagi, for our reconstruction at least of the laws of composition governing the ancient paintings.

³⁰See E. S. McCartney, The Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1.121-167.

³¹See E. S. McCartney, The Genesis of Rome's Military Equipment, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 6.71-79.

³²Attention may be called to an article, different in spirit from this paper, yet after all akin to it, entitled Words for 'Battle', 'War', 'Army', and 'Soldiers', by C. D. Buck, *Classical Philology* 14.1-19 (January, 1919). C. K.

Looking now at the proposed arrangement from this point of view, we see at the two extreme ends masses of fleeing and pursuing warriors, presumably distinguished by barbarian and Grecian dress and armament. The next pair of pictures is Troilus-Rhesus. The two scenes from the Troilus-legend most frequently represented are (a) Achilles hiding at the fountain which Polyxena and Troilus are approaching, and (b) the killing of Troilus near the shrine of Apollo Thymbraeus. Either of these two moments offers an architectural background, though in the second scene painters were usually satisfied to indicate the shrine by an altar. Vergil's description seems to occupy a middle ground between the two. We see, I think, the well-house and before it the chariot of the poor boy, whose horses are dragging their unfortunate master along the ground with Achilles in close pursuit. The parallel picture of Rhesus shows us the tent, corresponding to the well-house, and in front of it the body of Rhesus, while Diomedes is driving away the horses.

There follow two scenes of supplication. Before the statue of Pallas in her shrine we see the Trojan women, gesticulating and offering the gift of the people. To this corresponds Achilles in his tent, before whom Priam gesticulates and offers his ransom. Professor Knapp correctly notes that the pluperfect *raplaverat* (483) proves that the dragging of Hector's body formed no part of the picture. The artist—or Vergil—, with a fine sense of balance, omitted this as a mere replica of the Troilus scene.

We come now to the one point that presents difficulty. In reading the text we naturally gather the impression that we are to imagine next to the ransoming of Hector Aeneas fighting, then Memnon, and finally Penthesilea. But, if we arrange the scenes in the way shown by my diagram, we shall have two parallel scenes, in both of which the artistic emphasis rests on the strange, barbarian costume of the central figure. The Ethiopian and the Amazon, representatives of the ends of the world, naturally would appear in *στυκοὶ χιτῶνες* and, perhaps, *ἀναγυρίδες*. By thus separating the scenes, we gain not only a striking parallelism, but we also introduce a really central scene into the whole series, a scene closely referring to the hero of the poem, Aeneas, whose combat with some Greek leader shows the hero in his glory. While we cannot with certainty say which one of the fights mentioned in the Iliad is meant to be represented, we may, I think, safely eliminate the combat with Diomedes, as inappropriate to the glorification of Aeneas; we may think with greater justification of his opponent as Achilles or Idomeneus. It is significant for the attitude of Vergil that in this manner he emphasizes the prominence of his hero and thus prepares the reader for the appreciative and enthusiastic reception given Aeneas by Dido, 617 ff. (*Tune ille Aeneas?*).

The question now arises whether the poet describes here an actually existing painting, or whether he gives free rein to his imagination, guided perhaps by some

work of art that he had seen with his own eyes. I dare not decide this question without further study. For the former hypothesis a parallel would speak, which, I believe, has escaped the attention of commentators so far. In the prophetic description of the Golden Age, which is to arise under the rule of Augustus, the poet tells us that in the Janus arch (i.294-296) *Furor impius intus saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento*. Professor Knapp says that Vergil may have had in mind some work of art. Now Pliny (N. H. 35.93-94) relates that Apelles painted *Belli imaginem restrictis ad terga manibus*, and that Augustus had placed this painting in *Fori sui celeberrimis partibus*. We know apparently little of the date of the Forum Augusti, except that it was begun after the battle at Actium and that its chief edifice, the temple of Mars Ultor, was not dedicated until 2 B. C., nineteen years after Vergil's death. It may well be, though, that the painting was on view in Rome years before the dedication of the temple.

Norden, on pages 121-122 of his commentary on Aeneid 6, compares our Carthaginian picture with the reliefs on the doors of the Cumae temple. He is inclined to doubt that Vergil describes what he saw with his own eyes, and thinks that he is rather following his imagination in giving a rhetorical ecphephras. For this view the element of pathos and sentimentality would speak, which Norden has stressed for Book 6, and which is also strongly felt in Book 1, especially in the effect of the scene of Hector's ransom on Aeneas. However, the decision cannot be made thus offhand. Rather, it seems to me to be worth while to study the whole Aeneid from this point of view: How much is there in Vergil's epic of things that actually could be seen at Rome and elsewhere (compare e. g. Norden, pages 132 ff., on the *spelunca Sibyllae*)? And how did he work these into the fabric of his poem under the influence of the laws of ecphephras? Such an investigation might well be made the subject of a doctor's thesis.

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E. RIESS.

In connection with the question considered in the last two paragraphs of Dr. Riess's paper, attention may be called to the discussion, by Dr. Emily Helen Dutton, in her pamphlet, *Reflections on Re-Reading Vergil*, 27-29, of the influence exerted on Vergil by the renewed interest in art, of which he saw examples everywhere in Rome. A summary of Dr. Dutton's observations on this point, together with a quotation given by her of some important remarks on this theme by Mr. A. S. Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, Chapter 3, may be found in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 11.65-66.

In studying Dr. Riess's most interesting and suggestive paper one might profit by noting also what Mr. W. Warde Fowler says about the Shield of Aeneas, at the close of his book, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*: Observa-

tions on the Eighth Book of the Aeneid (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell). On this discussion Mr. J. Husband comments in *The Classical Review* 32.129-130.

Dr. Riess's suggestion is so fascinating that I hope he will be completely successful in making all his points. But I am bound to say that, for the moment, I am troubled by the discrepancy between his labelling of the central picture of the nine, Aeneas et Achivorum Principes, and his description of this scene as a single combat between Aeneas and Achilles or Idomeneus. Picture-label and description do not degree. Vergil's language, in 488, justifies the label; it does not justify the description.

In my note on 493, the closing sentence runs as follows:

Only the first picture could stir any feelings other than those of sorrow in a Trojan heart.

In a marginal note on my copy I find this:

At Carthage, Juno's city, one would expect only Trojan defeats to be pictured, or at least the emphasis to be laid on Trojan defeats rather than on Trojan victories.

Dr. Riess's suggestion makes the central figure in this series at Carthage show "the <Trojan> hero <of Vergil's Roman poem> in his glory".

Dr. Riess connects, as others had done, Aeneid 1.292-296 with Pliny's description of a specific painting. Now, editors have long connected this passage, and the kindred passage, Aeneid 7.607-622, with words cited by Horace, *Serm.* 1.4.60-61, *postquam Discordia taetra belli ferratos postis portasque refregit*, as a specimen of true poetry. The words thus cited by Horace have often been ascribed to Ennius; in making this ascription editors follow Porphyry on Horace, l. c., and Servius on Aeneid 7.622 (see Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*², *Annales* 266-267, with notes). Did Ennius also draw on the picture by Apelles? Clearly, Dr. Riess has opened up a wide and important field.

C. K.

Two points in Professor Knapp's remarks seem to call for an answer. He objects to the plural *principibus* in the label of the central picture, since I speak of a combat between Aeneas and either Achilles or Idomeneus; this, he says, would be a single combat. But I was thinking of vase paintings in which we find so often the principal actors accompanied by secondary actors. Thus, Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, 1.724, quotes Brunn for a painting on which the two Ajaxes are fighting Aeneas and Hippokles, while Dolon, too, is depicted (*Annali* 1862, *Tavola B*). That would properly be *Aeneas permixtus principibus*.

The second point did puzzle me also for a while. Why should Aeneas alone be glorified, when all other pictures show the Trojans as vanquished? But, in the first place, that is not quite true: one of the end pictures shows the Greeks in flight, as Professor Knapp remarks; and from Vergil's words we are under no compulsion to assume that either Memnon or Penthe-

silea was represented at the moment of defeat. In fact, this is very unlikely for the Amazon, who *furens mediis in milibus ardet audetque viris concurrere virgo*. Moreover, as I hinted, considerations of poetic economy urged the poet to assign such an honorable appearance to his hero, whose reception by Dido, even though the queen, by Mercury's magic, had received *mentem benignam*, is thus motivated. That Dido had often thought and spoken of Aeneas as a real hero appears from her reception of him, as I quoted it. I do not think that the argument that Carthage was Juno's city can be urged against the artistic and aesthetic considerations.

I am glad to know that others, too, have connected 1.292 ff. with the Pliny passage, though I did not find any reference anywhere in the books at my disposal. Brunn, in his *Kunstlergeschichte*, certainly says nothing about it, though he, who wrote on Pliny's use of his sources, ought to have seen the connection. I am disinclined to believe that Ennius drew on the Apelles painting, which is of unknown provenance. Since the picture of War was somehow connected with Alexandri triumphus, it may have originally been in Pella, in Babylon, or in Alexandria, more probably the last. Could Ennius have had knowledge of it, if it was in Pella, through Flamininus? E. R.

I am tempted to make yet another remark, on Dr. Riess's original paper. It is clear, from the next to the last paragraph of his paper, that Dr. Riess inclines to connect the passage he is discussing with the decorations of the Forum Augusti. This reminds me of a thought I have long cherished in connection with Horace, *Carm.* 1.12—Horace's muster roll of the heroes of Rome, which makes me think always of Hebrews 11, St. Paul's muster roll of the heroes of faith. I should like to be able to prove that in writing this ode, one of the great series of odes in which Horace takes his place by the side of Vergil, in the Aeneid, as one of the two great poets of the national and religious revivals at Rome, he had in mind Augustus's project of setting up in the Forum Augusti the statues of the heroes of Rome. Compare Suetonius, *Aug.* 31:

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit, professus et edicto, commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus.

The statues are mentioned also by Ovid, *Fasti* 5.563-564; Dio Cassius 55.10.3; Lampridius, *Alexander Severus* 28.6.

It is generally believed that *Carmina* 1-3 were published in 23 B. C. The Forum Augusti can hardly have been complete so soon after the Battle of Actium. It is entirely possible, however, that by that time the plan for this Forum had assumed pretty definite shape

and that Augustus's project of setting up in his Forum these statues was very well known, perhaps to everybody of consequence in Rome, at any rate, to the members of Maecenas's circle.

It would certainly be most interesting and highly important if it should be possible to prove that a famous passage of the Aeneid and an equally famous ode of Horace are both to be connected with the splendid plan by which Augustus transformed Rome from a city of brick into a city of marble, as part of the many means by which, through appeals to the imagination of the Romans, Augustus made the new régime palatable to his countrymen. We might compare in this connection, for Horace at least, the fact that Carmina 1.31 was written at the time of the dedication of the famous Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and we might think also with profit of the relation of Carmina 4.6.31-44, the Carmen Saeculare, and perhaps Carmina 1.21, to the Secular Games held in 17 B. C. C. K.

REVIEW

The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection. Part II: The Washington Manuscript of the Epistles of Paul. By Henry A. Sanders. New York: The Macmillan Company (1918). Pp. ix + 249 - 315. \$1.25. With Three Plates.

This monograph forms part of Volume IX of University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series. It gives an account of the last of the four old Biblical manuscripts bought by Mr. Freer in 1906¹. The fragment here considered, known now, among MSS of the New Testament, by the symbol I, was in a hopelessly decayed condition when found, says Dr. Sanders (251): no value was set upon it either by the Arab dealer or by Mr. Freer. The fragment was then a "blackened, decayed lump of parchment as hard and brittle on the exterior as glue". Its measurements were: length, 6½ inches, width, 4½ inches, thickness, 1½ inches. With infinite pains and labor the leaves were separated, and deciphered. Of the history of the manuscript nothing has been discovered, except that it once contained between 208 and 212 leaves. The legible fragments begin at I Corinthians 10.29; portions of all the remaining Pauline Epistles have been deciphered. This manuscript, then, together with the manuscript of the Four Gospels, in the Freer Collection (see Professor B. W. Bacon, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.213-214), made a complete New Testament, except for the book of Revelation.

On pages 253-258 Professor Sanders discusses the Palaeography of the manuscript. Next, on pages 259-263, he discusses The Text Problem. There is a notable agreement between this manuscript and those of the Alexandrian group of manuscripts, the Neutral group of Westcott and Hort (259). Finally, on pages 265-315 we have a reprint of the Greek text. C. K.

¹For notices of other parts of this collection see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.213-214; 11.112.

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB SCHOLARSHIPS

The scholarships in Latin and in Greek offered by The New York Classical Club have been awarded as follows: The Latin Scholarship to Miss Anna Meade, of Curtis High School, with a percentage of 86.5; the Greek Scholarship to Mr. Walter Ferriss, of Erasmus Hall High School, with a percentage of 87.

The plan of the examination for the scholarships has been changed from the former plan of averaging the answer papers on examinations set by the Regents, chiefly because the dates for the Regents and for The College Entrance Board examinations conflicted. The examination prepared by a committee of The New York Classical Club is now a composite paper in each subject and so somewhat more exacting than papers in the former plan. This will explain why the percentages are not so high as they were.

The names of the contestants offering the best papers are given in the order of their merit: in Latin, Anna Meade, Curtis High School; Minnie Hollander, Hunter College High School; Elise Jacobs, Hunter College High School; Frances Uswald, Hunter College High School; Adele A. Matzke, Morris High School; Edna Romer, Hunter College High School; Henrietta Olidort, Morris High School; Hudyths Levin, Far Rockaway High School; Ethel Silverman, Morris High School; Beatrice Kohn, Hunter College High School; in Greek, Walter Ferriss, Erasmus Hall High School; Angela Cantasano, Eastern District High School; Frances Haskins, Erasmus Hall High School.

EUGENE W. HARTER,

Chairman of Committee on Award of Scholarships.

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

III

- Aberdeen University Review—June, Translations from the Greek Anthology (two poems), F. G. M.
 American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures—January, Ecclesiastes and Theognis, H. Ranston.—April, The Greek Genesis, A. T. Olmstead.
 American Oxonian—July, Nixon's Plautus, R. K. Hack [a review of P. Nixon, Plautus, With an English Translation].
 American Political Science Review—May, C. P. Sherman, Roman Law in the Modern World (J. H. Drake).
 Bookman—May, The Evolution of the Bookstore (illustrated), H. H. Manchester.—July, The Living Pan (poem), Nancy B. Mavity.
 Contemporary Review—March, An Experiment in Greek Metres (from Sophocles, Antigone 333: a quantitative English equivalent), C. W. Brodribb.—July, (Ferrero and Barbagallo, A Short History of Rome).
 English Review—May, The Centaur's First Love (poem), Muriel Stuart.
 Journal des Débats—July 19, La culture grecque et latine: discours de M. Lafferre, ministre de l'instruction publique.
 Literary Guide (London)—A Word for the Classics = (Gilbert Murray, Religio Grammatici: The Religion of a Man of Letters).
 Literary World—Aug. 1, The Cult of Apollo = (T. Dempsey, The Delphic Oracle).
 Nineteenth Century—April, A Defense of the Modern Humanities, C. Brereton.—May, The Shoes of Empedocles, Rev. Father Sharpe; Half an Hour with Sophocles, W. S. Thilly.
 Open Court—May, (P. E. More, Plato and Platonism).
 Poet Lore—Spring Number, Ovid as a Short-story Writer in the Light of Modern Technique, A. Kadison.
 Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature—May 26, (N. Terzaghi, Filologia e letteratura classica: il mito di Prometeo); (H. B. Walters, A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, Geography and Mythology); (L. Parmentier, Recherches sur le traité d'Isis et d'Osiris de Plutarque); (K. Meiser, Ueber den Charidemios des Dion von Prusa); (H. Alline, Histoire du texte de Platon).
 Revue de l'Histoire des Religions—Nov.-Dec., 1917, P. Roussel, Les cultes égyptiens à Delos (A. de Ridder).
 Rivista d'Italia—Jan., 1918, Concetto Marchesi, Le corone di Prudenzio (E. Donadoni).—May, Le nuove idee della critica e le primavere antiche, A. Conti.
 Sewanee Review—July-September, Shrines of the Mighty: From Athens to Corinth, Virginia G. Bullock; Two Views of Educa-